

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1656

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 1440

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS/ PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: DISCUSSION OF UK AND
ROMANIAN REPRESENTATIVES ON 15 FEBRUARY

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REPORT CIRCULATED BY UK REP ROSE
OF HIS DISCUSSION WITH ROMANIAN REP (ANINOIU) ON 15 FEBRUARY:

BEGIN TEXT.

1. MR ANINOIU SAID THAT HE HAD COME TO TALK ABOUT THE RECENT
SO-CALLED "UNOFFICIAL CONTACTS". AS MR ROSE HAD BEEN PRESENT AT
THEM, HE SHOULD BE WELL-INFORMED. INDEED THE COMPOSITION OF THE
DINNERS SEEMED TO REMAIN ALWAYS THE SAME IT WAS ONLY THE
RESTUARUANT THAT CHANGED. WHAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF THESE CONTACTS?

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2. MR ROSE SAID THESE CONTACTS REPRESENTED AN ATTEMPT TO TRY TO

FIND, AT INFORMAL SOCIAL GATHERINGS, A WAY TO MOVE FORWARD. IN THIS SENSE THEY WERE NOT VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE NUMEROUS INFORMAL MEETINGS, BILATERAL AND OTHERWISE, WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE OVER THE PAST FOUR MONTHS. WHEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES MET FOR SOCIAL PURPOSES IT WAS NATURAL THAT, ALL BEING INVOLVED IN THE SAME COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS, THEY SHOULD TAKE THE OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY SOCIAL CONTACT TO ATTEMPT TO FURTHER THEIR COMMON PURPOSE. AT THE DINNER WHICH HAD JUST BEEN HELD, IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT THE CONVERSATION HAD BEEN USEFUL BUT INCONCLUSIVE, AND COULD THEREFORE BE CONTINUED WITH ADVANTAGE ON A FUTURE OCCASION.

3. MR ANINOIU SAID THAT IT WAS HIS BELIEF THAT MR KHLESTOV HAD MADE EASTERN ATTENDANCE AT A SECOND DINNER CONDITIONAL ON WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE INCLUSION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE EASTERN PROPOSALS IN THE DISCUSSION. THE WEST HAD PROPOSED TWO SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION- THE COMMON CEILING AND US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES. WHAT TOPICS FROM THE EASTERN PROPOSALS HAD THEY NOW AGREED TO DISCUSS? MR ROSE REPLIED THAT THIS WAS NOT ENTIRELY ACCURATE. IN THE BELIEF THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO FIND A STARTING POINT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, AND IN VIEW OF THE SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE APPROACHES OF EAST AND WEST, THE WEST HAD PROPOSED THAT THE SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND BEGIN WITH A PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING TO DISCUSS A SINGLE TOPIC ONLY - THE REDUCTION OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES - WHICH WAS COMMON TO THE APPROACHES OF BOTH SIDES. THIS WAS TERMED A "PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING" BECAUSE IT WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD, BY ACCEPTING IT, BE PREJUDICING THE SUBSTANCE OF ITS PROPOSALS. SO FAR AS HE KNEW NOBODY HAD MADE CONDITIONS OF ANY KIND FOR CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSIONS. THE WESTERN SUGGESTION HAD NOT PROVED READILY ACCEPTABLE TO THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES AT THE FIRST DINNER, AND MR. KHLESTOV HAD MADE SUGGESTIONS OF HIS OWN. ALL THESE SUGGESTIONS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AGAIN ON 13 FEBRUARY AND THE DISCUSSION WOULD BE CONTINUED.

4. MR ANINOIU SAID THAT "UNUSUAL" DISCUSSIONS OF THIS KIND COULD NOT BE CARRIED ON OUTSIDE THE ESTABLISHED FORA WITHOUT CREATING "A NEW FORMULA". MR ROSE SAID THAT PLENARY SESSIONS WERE, OF COURSE, THE PLACE WHERE SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS WOULD BE TAKEN. THEY DID, HOWEVER, HAVE CERTAIN DISADVANTAGES AS A MEDIUM FOR TENTATIVE EXPLORATION IN SEARCH OF NEW WAYS FORWARD. IT WAS NORMAL

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PRACTICE IN MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE PARTICIPANTS TO CONDUCT SUCH EXPLORATION IN SOME FORUM IN WHICH ONE COULD TALK MORE FREELY.

5. MR ANINOIU EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE "NEW FORMULA" WHICH WAS MERELY CAMOUFLAGE FOR A RESTRICTED WORKING GROUP. HE AGREED THAT THERE WAS A NEED TO LOOK FOR POINTS OF CONTACT OUTSIDE FORMAL PLENARIES, BUT FELT STRONGLY THAT THE EXISTING FRAMEWORK OR REGULAR

CONTACTS PROVIDED AMPLY OPPORTUNITIES FOR THIS. PARTICIPATION IN THE NEW MEETINGS WAS RESTRICTED, AND THEIR EFFECT WAS TO EXCLUDE OTHER DELEGATIONS FROM MAKING THEIR VIEWS KNOWN AND CONTRIBUTING SUGGESTIONS. EVEN IF DECISIONS CONTINUED TO BE TAKEN FORMALLY IN PLENARY, IN PRACTICE DELEGATIONS NOT REPRESENTED IN THE RESTRICTED MEETINGS WOULD BE PRESENTED WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI. THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO INSTITUTIONALISE SUCH MEETINGS WAS AIMED PARTICULARLY AT ROMANIA. ROMANIA WAS NOT IN VIENNA IN HER CAPACITY AS A MEMBER OF THE WARSAW PACT BUT AS ONE THE NINETEEN COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE TALKS. BUT THE NEW MEETINGS WERE HELD ON A BLOC-TO-BLOC BASIS, AND THUS EXCLUDED ROMANIA. ROMANIA DID NOT CLAIM THE RIGHT TO ATTEND THEM; HER OBJECTION TO THEM WAS ONE OF PRINCIPLE. IF DISCUSSION WAS PURSUED BY OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS, MANY DELEGATIONS WOULD NOT IN PRACTICE FIND IT NECESSARY TO ATTEND ON ALL OCCASIONS, BUT THEY WOULD AT LEAST HAVE THE RIGHT TO DO SO IF THEY FELT THAT THEIR OWN INTERESTS WERE AT STAKE. ROMANIA CATEGORICALLY OPPOSED THE NEW DEVELOPMENT, WHICH WAS DANGEROUS AND THREATENED TO COMPLICATE THE WORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS; IF IT CONTINUED SHE WOULD BE FORCED TO ADOPT A FORMAL POSITION ON THE QUESTION IN PLENARY.

6. MR ROSE EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF MR ANINOIU'S PREOCCUPATIONS. HE WISHED TO TAKE UP CERTAIN THINGS THAT HE HAD JUST SAID:

(1) MR ANINOIU HAD SUGGESTED THAT ATTENDANCE AT THE RECENT INFORMAL CONTACTS HAD BEEN "RESTRICTED". THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS CONSULTED FULLY ON ALL STEPS TAKEN AND WERE FULLY AWARE OF WHAT TOOK PLACE AT THESE DINNERS. THERE WAS, MOREOVER, NO INTENTION ON THE PART OF THE WEST TO CONFINE PARTICIPATION IN THESE MEETINGS TO ANY SPECIFIC GROUP; IF THE COMPOSITION OF THE TWO DINNERS SO FAR HAD REMAINED CONSTANT, THIS WAS PARTLY BECAUSE THE THEME UNDER DISCUSSION HAD NOT CHANGED. THERE WAS NO REASON WHY ATTENDANCE SHOULD NOT CHANGE ON FUTURE OCCASIONS.

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(2) HE WAS PUZZLED BY THE SUGGESTION THAT THESE CONTACTS WERE BEING INSTITUTIONALISED. THIS WAS NOT THE INTENTION OF THE WESTERN ALLIES, WHO SIMPLY SAW THEM AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO FIND OUT INFORMALLY WHERE THERE MIGHT BE PROSPECTS OF PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

(3) THE UK AGREED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT BETWEEN BLOCS, BUT ONE HAD TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF REALITIES. THE WARSAW PACT DRAFT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN TABLED BY THE FOUR WARSAW PACT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AND THE WESTERN OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS HAD BEEN PRESENTED BY ALL THE NATO PARTICIPANTS. TWO VERY DIFFERENT SETS OF PROPOSALS EXISTED, PUT FORWARD BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO DIFFERENT ALLIANCES; THE WEST'S SOLE OBJECTIVE WAS TO FIND A WAY FORWARD FROM

THIS SITUATION.

(4) HE COULD NOT AGREE THAT THIS INFORMAL PROCEDURE WAS DANGEROUS. ON THE CONTRARY, ITS AIM WAS THE POSITIVE ONE OF ACHIEVING PROGRESS TOWARDS A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 1440

E.O. 11562: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: DISCUSSION OF UK AND ROMANIAN REPRESENTATIVES ON 15 FEBRUARY

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. MR ANINOIU REPLIED THAT WHATEVER THE SITUATION MIGHT BE FOR THE WEST, FOR ROMANIA THESE MEETINGS WERE DANGEROUS. ROMANIA COULD NOT ALLOW OTHERS TO SPEAK FOR HER. THE RUSSIANS DID NOT BRIEF THEIR ALLIES AS THE WEST DID, AND ROMANIA HAD BEEN TOLD

NOTHING OF THE SECOND DINNER EXCEPT THAT IT HAD TAKEN PLACE. THE NEW FORMULA WAS MERELY A NEW WRAPPING FOR THE OLD AND UNACCEPTABLE IDEA OF EMISSARIES, AND WOULD INEVITABLY PRODUCE "PLENARY SESSIONS OF A NEW SUB-ORGAN" OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE WESTERN ARGUMENT THAT INFORMAL CONTACTS WERE DESIRABLE BECAUSE DISCUSSIONS AT THEM WAS MORE DETAILED AND SYSTEMATIC PROVED THAT THE WEST ACCEPTED THAT

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THEY AND NOT THE PLENARY SESSION WOULD BE THE REAL FORUM FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS.

8. MR ROSE ASKED WHETHER MR ANINOIU OBJECTED TO ALL INFORMAL GATHERINGS WHERE BUSINESS WAS DISCUSSED AND POINTS OF CONTACT ESTABLISHED. MR ANINOIU SAID THAT HE DID NOT, BUT QUESTIONED THE NORMAL NATURE OF THE RECENT INFORMAL CONTACTS. MR ROSE SAID THAT AS FAR AS THE WEST WAS CONCERNED THE ONLY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE RECENT CONTACTS AND OTHERS LAY IN THE FACT THAT HE HAD RATHER MORE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATION ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE SAID AT THEM. MR ANINOIU ASKED WHETHER IT WAS NORMAL TO ASK THE SAME PEOPLE OUT TO DINNER THREE WEEKS RUNNING, ADDING THAT IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT THE PROCESS WOULD END AFTER THE THIRD TIME. MR ROSE REPLIED THAT IF A CONVERSATION WAS PROVING VALUABLE, HE SAW NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD NOT BE CONTINUED. MR ANINOIU INDICATED AT THIS POINT THAT HIS INFORMATION WAS THAT THE SECOND DINNER HAD BEEN ARRANGED NO EARLIER THAN 10.30 A.M. ON THE DAY ON WHICH IT WAS HELD. WHEN MR ROSE EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THIS SUGGESTION, HE REPLIED THAT IF HIS INFORMATION WAS WRONG EVEN ON SUCH A SUPERFICIAL MATTER AS THIS, IT WAS ALL TOO CLEAR WHAT DANGERS THE WHOLE PROCESS HELD FOR THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION. THERE WERE PLENTY OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE WEST TO TALK TO THE RUSSIANS WITHIN THE EXISTING FRAMEWORK OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND HE DID NOT SEE WHAT FURTHER BENEFIT WAS GAINED FROM THE PRESENCE OF KLEIN AND STRULAK, WHO COULD BE RELIED ON NOT TO DISAGREE WITH ANYTHING SAID BY THE RUSSIANS.

9. MR ANINOIU CONCEDED THAT THE WESTERN INITIATIVE SEEMED TO BE WELL-INTENTIONED, BUT ASKED AGAIN WHY THE WESTERN REQUIREMENTS COULD NOT BE MET THROUGH THE NORMAL CHANNELS. MR ROSE THE ARGUMENTS HE HAD ALREADY ADVANCED IN FAVOUR OF INFORMAL CONTACTS OF THE TYPE PROPOSED BY THE WEST. HE OFFERED TO MEET MR ANINOIU FROM TIME TO TIME TO TALK ABOUT THE INFORMAL CONTACTS AND ABOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A WHOLE IF MR ANINOIU WOULD FIND THIS HELPFUL. MR ANINOIU EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF THIS OFFER. HE FAVOURED REGULAR BUT UNSYSTEMATIC CONTACTS.

10. MR ANINOIU CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE FOUND THE WEST VERY EGOISTIC IN ITS APPROACH. ROMANIA WAS A LOYAL MEMBER OF THE WARSAW PACT, BUT COULD NOT MANDATE THE WARSAW PACT, A RESTRICTED MILITARY ORGANISATION, TO TALK ON HER BEHALF INTERNATIONALLY. FOR ROMANIA, IT WAS A CARDINAL AND ESSENTIAL POINT OF POLICY THAT SHE SHOULD

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TALK FOR HERSELF. THE WEST SHOULD REMEMBER THAT ROMANIA WOULD IN
PRACTICE BE THE VICTIM OF THE PROCEDURE NOW ADOPTED. HE HOPED
THAT MR ROSE WOULD THINK OVER WHAT HE HAD SAID, DISCUSS IT WITH
HIS COLLEAGUES AND REPORT IT TO HIS AUTHORITIES. END TEXT.HUMES

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